

A NEW APPROACH
TO AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO'S *SERMONS TO THE PEOPLE*
AND ITS IMPACT ON AUGUSTINIAN SCHOLARSHIP

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Hubertus Rudolf Drobner
School of History, Politics and International Relations
University of Leicester

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Bilingual editions

1. *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zum Buch Genesis* (Sermones 1-5). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume VII (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2000). 228 pp.
2. *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den Büchern Exodus, Könige und Job* (Sermones 6-12). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume X (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2003). 345 pp.
3. *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den Psalmen* (Sermones 13-21). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume XXXV/1 (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2016). 710 pp.
4. *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den Psalmen* (Sermones 22-34). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume XXXV/2 (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2016). XX and 732 pp.
5. *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zum Buch der Sprüche und Jesus Sirach* (Sermones 35-41). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume XIII (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2004). 299 pp.
6. *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den alttestamentlichen Propheten* (Sermones 42-50). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume XXIX (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2013). 615 pp.

Bibliographies

7. *Augustinus von Hippo: Sermones ad populum. Überlieferung und Bestand – Bibliographie – Indices*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae volume XLIX (Leiden: Brill, 2000). XX and 226 pp.
8. *Augustinus von Hippo, Sermones ad populum. Überlieferung und Bestand – Bibliographie – Indices: Supplement 2000-2010*, Patrologia volume XXV (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2010). 180 pp.

Articles

9. 'Augustinus, *Sermo in vigilia pentecostes* aus den in Mainz neuentdeckten Predigten. Datierung und deutsche Übersetzung', *Theologie und Glaube*, 83 (1993), pp. 446-454.
10. 'Augustins *sermo Moguntinus* über Gal 2,11-14. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen', *Theologie und Glaube*, 84 (1994), pp. 226-242.
11. 'Studying Augustine: an overview of recent research', in Robert DODARO and George LAWLESS (eds), *Augustine and his critics. Essays in honour of Gerald Bonner* (London-New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 18-34.
12. "'You cannot pick grapes from thorns": Saint Augustine's imagery – archaeological evidence and spiritual meaning', *Melita Theologica*, 51 (2000), pp. 25-37.
13. "'I would rather not be wearisome to you": Saint Augustine as preacher', *Melita Theologica*, 51 (2000), pp. 117-126.
14. 'Augustine of Hippo Preaching on the Abuse of Power', in David LUCKENSMAYER and Pauline ALLEN (eds), *Studies of Religion and Politics in the Early Christian Centuries*, Early Christian Studies volume 13 (Strathfield NSW: St Paul's Publications, 2010), pp. 227-242.
15. 'The Transmission of Augustine's Sermons. A Critical Assessment', in Anthony DUPONT, Gert PARTOENS, Mathijs LAMBERIGTS (eds), *Tractatio Scripturarum. Philological, Exegetical, Rhetorical and Theological Studies on Augustine's Sermons*, Ministerium Sermonis volume II, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia volume 65 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 97-116.
16. 'Daily Life in the Preaching of Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine of Hippo', *Scrinium*, 9 (2013), pp. 105-119.
17. '*Augustiniana Coloniensis*. Zwei neu identifizierte Augustinuspredigten in Codex Köln Dom 70: *Enarratio in Psalmum* 70/2,6-9 und *Sermo* 135,6-8', in Heinz FINGER and Harald HORST (eds), *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek. Fünftes Symposium der Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln zu den Dom-Manuskripten (30. November bis 1. Dezember 2012)*, Libelli Rhenani volume 51 (Köln: Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 2014), pp. 69-101.
18. "'Stretch Yourself on the Rack of Your Heart" (S. 13.7). Reality, Spirituality, and Emotions in Augustine's Imagery', in John J. O'KEEFE and Michael CAMERON (eds), *Augustine on Heart and Life. Essays in Memory of William Harmless, S.J.*,

Journal of Religion & Society. Supplement Series volume 15 (Omaha/NE: Creighton University, 2018).

<<https://dspace2.creighton.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10504/119168/2018-21.pdf>> [accessed 18.08.2020].

Introduction

The great project of the first comprehensive bilingual edition of Augustine's almost 600 authentic *Sermons to the People*, with introduction and commentary, was ultimately instigated by François DOLBEAU's discovery of twenty-six new authentic sermons by Augustine of Hippo in the Municipal Library of Mainz, Germany, in 1990.¹ This fortunate discovery created, naturally, a public sensation, as Augustine is still one of the best-known and most influential thinkers in the Western hemisphere. However, no-one could possibly have imagined that it would start an avalanche of innovative research that fundamentally changed all Augustinian scholarship.

The first effect on my own work was, in 1993, when I realized that the date which DOLBEAU suggested for the new sermons could not possibly be true. However, this doubt, in its turn, led to the general conviction that a complete revision of the chronology of all of Augustine's sermons was needed. This new approach resulted in a fundamental re-consideration of chronological methodology in general and thus the perception of Augustine's entire life and works.²

From there, it became clear that a general basis for a new appreciation of Augustine's sermons could only be laid by a thorough and comprehensive reading and understanding of the texts, including a precise translation into the vernacular, accompanied by introduction and commentary providing in-depth and innovative analyses of the texts.

At this time French, Spanish, and Italian bilingual editions already existed. However, they contained only a few notes, no historical and thematic introductions and no continuous commentary.³ The same is true for the series of translations of the sermons into French, Spanish, English, and Dutch.⁴

¹ Cf. François DOLBEAU, 'Sermons inédits de S. Augustin dans un manuscrit de Mayence (Stadtbibliothek I 9)', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 36 (1990), pp. 355-359; Henry CHADWICK, 'New Sermons of St Augustine', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 47 (1996), pp. 69-91; Gerhard MAY und Geesche HÖNSCHEID (eds), *Die Mainzer Augustinus-Predigten. Studien zu einem Jahrhundertfund*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. Abteilung für abendländische Religionsgeschichte, Beiheft 59 (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003).

² Cf. Hubertus R. DROBNER, 'Augustinus, *Sermo in vigilia pentecostes* aus den in Mainz neuentdeckten Predigten. Datierung und deutsche Übersetzung', *Theologie und Glaube*, 83 (1993), pp. 446-454.

³ Cf. Joseph Maxence PÉRONNE et al., *Œuvres complètes de saint Augustin, évêque d'Hippone, traduites en français et annotées, renfermant le texte latin et les notes de l'édition des Bénédictines*, volumes 15-19 (Paris: Vivès, 1871-1873); AA.VV., *Obras completas de San Agustín VII, X, XXIII-*

Therefore, as no comprehensive analysis and commentary of Augustine's sermons existed, I initiated a bilingual edition (Latin-German) which takes into account all aspects of the text and its contents: history; archaeology; philosophy; biblical sources; theology; liturgy; imagery; philology; rhetoric *etc.* This method revealed large amounts of unusual and surprising informations which contribute to our knowledge of Augustine's person, works, thought and times in ways which otherwise would not be detected – at least not in a similarly comprehensive way⁵. It can also give access to unwritten context and background of the texts, including the psychology of the preacher and his audience.⁶

Detailed analysis of the sermons also leads to a more critical understanding of the means of transmission, and the reliability of the texts that have come down to us, including their selection and completeness, the composition and significance of the medieval collections, the validity of their titles *etc.*, and thus allows a more correct reconstruction of the texts themselves than was possible hitherto.⁷

This has been my approach in the twelve volumes of the bilingual edition that have been published since 2000, comprising a total of 129 sermons. The six volumes [nos. 1-6] which are submitted with my application for the degree of 'Doctor of Letters' include

XXVI: Sermones, 6 volumes (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, ⁴1981-1985); AA.VV., *Sant' Agostino, Discorsi*, Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana volumes XXIX-XXXV, (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1979-2002).

⁴ Cf. Jean-Baptiste RAULX, *Œuvres complètes de saint Augustin, traduites pour la première fois en français*, volumes 6-8: Sermons (Besançon/Bar-le-Duc: Guérin, 1866-1869); Laurentino ÁLVAREZ, *Los Sermones de San Agustín*, 8 volumes (Madrid: Impresora del Asilo de Huérfanos del S.C. de Jesús, 1923-1931); Edmund HILL, *The Works of Saint Augustine. A translation for the 21st Century*, volumes III/1-11: Sermons (New York/NY: New City Press, 1990-1997); AA.VV., *Aurelius Augustinus, Sermones*, 12 volumes (Budel: Damon, 1996-2018).

⁵ Cf. Hubertus R. DROBNER, "'You cannot pick grapes from thorns': Saint Augustine's imagery – archaeological evidence and spiritual meaning", *Melita Theologica*, 51 (2000), pp. 25-37 [no. 12]; "'I would rather not be wearisome to you": Saint Augustine as preacher', *Melita Theologica*, 51 (2000), pp. 117-126 [no. 13]; 'Augustine of Hippo Preaching on the Abuse of Power', in David LUCKENSMAYER and Pauline ALLEN (eds), *Studies of Religion and Politics in the Early Christian Centuries*, Early Christian Studies volume 13 (Strathfield NSW: St Paul's Publications, 2010), pp. 227-242 [no. 14]; 'Daily Life in the Preaching of Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine of Hippo', *Scrinium*, 9 (2013), pp. 105-119 [no. 16].

⁶ Cf. Hubertus R. DROBNER, "'Stretch Yourself on the Rack of Your Heart" (S. 13.7). Reality, Spirituality, and Emotions in Augustine's Imagery', in John J. O'KEEFE and Michael CAMERON (eds), *Augustine on Heart and Life. Essays in Memory of William Harmless, S.J.*, Journal of Religion & Society. Supplement Series volume 15 (Omaha/NE: Creighton University, 2018), pp. 21-47. <<https://dspace2.creighton.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10504/119168/2018-21.pdf>> [accessed 18.08.2020] [no. 18].

⁷ Cf. Hubertus R. DROBNER, 'The Transmission of Augustine's Sermons. A Critical Assessment', in Anthony DUPONT, Gert PARTOENS, Mathijs LAMBERIGTS (eds), *Tractatio Scripturarum. Philological, Exegetical, Rhetorical and Theological Studies on Augustine's Sermons*, Ministerium Sermonis, volume II, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 65 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 97-116.

in its entirety the first section of Augustine's homiletic corpus, that is the sermons on the Old Testament (*Sermons* 1-50). These six volumes provide a well-rounded impression of content, methods and value of the edition.

Of course, such an enterprise can neither be begun nor carried through without a comprehensive knowledge of all the studies that have been conducted on the complete corpus of Augustine's sermons. Consequently, I compiled two volumes of comprehensive bibliography of all editions, translations and studies on Augustine's sermons before and during the editing process. Therefore, these two volumes [nos. 7-8] are added to the submission as an integral research tool for the elaboration of the bilingual edition. As this bibliographical tools needs to be kept constantly up-to-date, a further supplement is in preparation.

Naturally, the progress of a large project such as this generates detailed studies which explore and further elaborate essential themes. These are represented here by ten articles on the present state of Augustinian research [no. 11], chronology [nos. 9-10], textual transmission [nos. 15, 17] and various other themes that, among other topics, also shed new light on Augustine's rhetorical methodology [nos. 12-14, 16, 18].

The new ideas and results presented in all of those publications have been instrumental in shaping a fundamentally new course of reading and evaluation not only of Augustine's sermons, but all of his works, and have fostered a quite new approach to all of Augustine's life and thinking in international scholarship as discussed below.

The novel approaches and scholarly impact of this body of work is the primary motive for presenting them for examination for the degree of 'Doctor of Letters.'

I.

Text and commentary

The bilingual edition of Augustine's sermons studies the following topics:

1. Bibliography.
2. Textual transmission, including authenticity, and critical reconstitution of the Latin texts.
3. A definite interpretation of the Latin texts through the German translations.
4. Historical contexts, place and time.
5. Structure and content.
6. Rhetoric and style.

While details are, of course, discussed critically, this structure and its results have in general been favourably appreciated by the international scholarly community.

Complimentary reviews of the volumes have been published in many international scholarly journals. François DOLBEAU, the discoverer and editor of the new Augustinian sermons which triggered the new line of research (see above "Introduction"), reviewed many of my publications on Augustine. He approved of the general concept of the edition as "clear and efficient", and recommended especially the volume on Augustine's *Sermons on Exodus, Kings and Job* [no. 2] to its readers because of its "quality and breadth".⁸ In his review of the two volumes on the *Sermons on the Psalms* [nos. 3-4] DOLBEAU emphasized the "abundant notes" which "contribute valuable points not only for the 36 sermons but also for the whole of Augustine's works,"⁹ and praised the two volumes of bibliography to Augustine's *Sermons to the people* [nos. 7-8] as being "very well informed"; they "merit to be treated as standard".¹⁰

⁸ Cf. François DOLBEAU [review], 'Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu Kirch- und Bischofsweihe* (Sermones 336-340/A). *Einleitung, revidierter Mauriner-Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume IX (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2003); ID., *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den Büchern Exodus, Könige und Job* (Sermones 6-12). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume X (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2003), *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 49 (2003), 424-428, esp. 425.

⁹ Cf. François DOLBEAU [review], 'Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den Psalmen* (Sermones 13-34). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, 2 volumes, Patrologia volume XXXV (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2016), *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 63 (2017), pp. 402-404.

¹⁰ Cf. François DOLBEAU [review], 'Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo: Sermones ad populum. Überlieferung und Bestand – Bibliographie – Indices*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae volume XLIX (Leiden: Brill, 2000), *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 46 (2000), 326-330; ID.

This does not mean that DOLBEAU agreed with me on all points. He regretted that I did not pay enough attention to the manuscripts and textual transmission in editing the sermons, and he considered my position towards the chronology of the sermons to be “cautious to the extreme”.¹¹ However, especially from these disagreements a fruitful scholarly dialogue developed between my volumes and DOLBEAU’s reviews which led to mutual adjustments of our positions. I dedicated myself more intensely to the transmission of the sermons which DOLBEAU favourably acknowledged in his review of the volumes on the *Sermons on the Psalms*.¹² He, on the other hand, moved a long way towards my position and arguments regarding the chronology of the sermons which is especially evident in his most recent encyclopedic dictionary article on Augustine’s *Sermones ad populum* (see below § II).

Martine DULAËY, the editor-in chief of the French bilingual edition of Augustine’s other large homiletic corpus, the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, on the hand, calls my suggestions for a new chronology “hypercritical”. Nevertheless, she considers the presentation of the two last volumes on the *Sermons on the Psalms* [nos. 3-4] as “very rich and useful” and indicative of “an attentive reading of the texts”. According to her assessment, the bilingual edition as a whole is “a solid base for understanding and appreciating Augustine’s sermons.”¹³

José ANOZ, the Spanish translator of Augustine’s new sermons and editor-in-chief of the journal “Augustinus”, congratulated me on the publication of the bibliography and recommended it to all Augustine scholars rating it “an excellently presented work of enormous usefulness.”¹⁴ He considered the edition to be “exemplary”, called the notes “rich and extensive”, and the general structure “masterly in method and

[review], ‘Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Sermones ad populum. Überlieferung und Bestand – Bibliographie – Indices: Supplement 2000-2010*, Patrologia volume XXV (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2010), *Revue d’Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 57 (2011), p. 457.

¹¹ Cf. DOLBEAU [review], *Predigten zu Kirch- und Bischofsweihe*, p. 426.

¹² Cf. DOLBEAU [review], *Predigten zu den Psalmen*, p. 402 f.

¹³ Cf. Martine DULAËY [review], ‘Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den Psalmen (Sermones 13-34). Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, 2 volumes, Patrologia volume XXXV (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2016), *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique*, 112 (2017), pp. 855-858.

¹⁴ Cf. José ANOZ [review], ‘Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo: Sermones ad populum. Überlieferung und Bestand – Bibliographie – Indices*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae volume XLIX (Leiden: Brill, 2000), *Augustinus*, 45 (2000), p. 473.

documentation.”¹⁵ Other scholars further supported this favourable evaluation of both content and method of the bilingual edition.¹⁶

Beyond the scholarly appreciation of the bilingual edition of Augustine’s sermons, those volumes were recommended – at least in Germany and the Netherlands – to schools, monasteries, parishes, and even the general public as reviews in the Benedictine journal “Erbe und Auftrag”, the “Forum Classicum. Zeitschrift für die Fächer Latein und Griechisch an den Schulen und Universitäten”, and the newspapers “Die Tagespost” and “Nederlands Dagblad” show.¹⁷

Nevertheless, as indicative as these reviews are regarding the general appreciative reception of the bilingual edition of Augustine’s sermons, much more suggestive and important is their influence on scholarly publications that build on them and critically appraise them. In this respect, the volumes of the editions are quoted in practically all publications on Augustine’s sermons from the year 2000 onwards. A representative selection of evaluations from the major and most influential monographs may illustrate their appreciation.

Michael MARGONI-KÖGLER’s comprehensive study of the readings in North African liturgy as evidenced by Augustine’s sermons (2010) uses all seven volumes of the bilingual edition that had been published at the time, that is on Genesis [no. 1], Exodus [no. 2], Proverbs [no. 5], Christmas, Easter Triduum, St Mark’s Gospel, and the

¹⁵ Cf. José ANOZ [review], ‘Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zum Buch der Sprüche und Jesus Sirach* (Sermones 35-41). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume XIII (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2004), *Augustinus*, 50 (2005), pp. 156 f.

¹⁶ Cf. Antoon BASTIAENSEN [review], ‘Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zum Buch Genesis* (Sermones 1-5). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume VII (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2000), *Vigiliae Christianae*, 59 (2005), pp. 341-345, esp. p. 342; Nicolas DE MAEYER [review], ‘Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den alttestamentlichen Propheten* (Sermones 42-50). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume XXIX (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2013), *Theologische Revue*, 111 (2015), coll. 212 f.

¹⁷ Cf. Bernhard A. ECKERSTORFER [review], ‘Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zum österlichen Triduum* (Sermones 218-229/D). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume XVI (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2006), *Erbe und Auftrag*, 84 (2008), p. 234; Dietmar SCHMITZ [review], ‘Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu Neujahr und Epiphanie* (Sermones 196/A-204/A). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume XII (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2010), *Forum Classicum*, 16 (2012) 51-53; Norbert WINKLER, ‘Regeln für ein wahrhaftes Leben. Die Predigten des Augustinus zum Buch Genesis’, *Die Tagespost*, 54 (16. Juni 2001), p. 14; ID., ‘Wahrheit in der Stille des Herzens. Die Predigten des Augustinus in neuer Übersetzung’, *Die Tagespost*, 56 (11. September 2003), p. 18; H. J. SELDERHUIS, ‘Madonna heeft een kind’, *Nederlands Dagblad*, 19.12.2003, p. 7.

dedication of churches, plus the first volume of bibliography [no. 7] and seven supporting studies 97 times on 623 pages.¹⁸

Of course, MARGONI-KÖGLER reads my works critically and does not always agree with every single point. For instance, his analysis of Augustine's biblical sources differs from mine in places (cf. p. 35 note 89). In his discussion of Augustine's Christmas Sermons which I had edited in 2003,¹⁹ he criticizes that, in his opinion, I did not sufficiently take into account DOLBEAU's arguments regarding the question whether *Sermon* 196A was preached on Christmas Day or New Year's Day (cf. pp. 51 f. notes 143-144). In a long note on the chronology of Augustine's Christmas Sermons (pp. 66 f. note 178) MARGONI-KÖGLER weighs DOLBEAU's, HOMBERT's and my arguments regarding the chronology of the Christmas Sermons and acknowledges both DOLBEAU's intentions and mine to be justified though they are in part mutually exclusive.

On the other hand, MARGONI-KÖGLER agrees to my cautious suggestions regarding the readings during Easter Vigil (pp. 106 f.) and my sceptical position over against ZWINGGI's proposition of introductory addresses at the beginning of the vigil (p. 113). He underlines my "express reticence regarding mere hypothetical or insufficient grounds for dating Augustine's sermons" (p. 124), supports my dating of *Sermon* 4 to the 23rd January instead of the traditionally surmised 22nd (pp. 150 f., notes 426 and 428) and my evaluation of the sermons on the dedication of churches (pp. 171 f.). He calls the consultation of the volume on the *Sermons on Genesis* "indispensable" because of the introductions, translations, and "ample notes" (p. 214, note 597). Among further details he evaluates my analysis of *Sermon* 5 as "most conclusive" (p. 217) and confirms that the traditionally surmised connection of *Sermons* 5 and 6 with *Sermons* 7-8, 45, 137 has "after initial doubts by DOLBEAU now been proven as untenable by HOMBERT and DROBNER" (p. 219).

Anthony DUPONT's study of Grace in "Augustine's *Sermons* during the Pelagian Controversy" (2013) refers to my publications 51 times in all, utilizing all the volumes of the bibliography and the bilingual edition as well as five supporting studies,

¹⁸ Michael MARGONI-KÖGLER, *Die Perikopen im Gottesdienst bei Augustinus. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der liturgischen Schriftlesungen in der frühen Kirche*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse volume 810 (2010), esp. pp. 630 f., 634.

¹⁹ Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zum Weihnachtsfest (Sermones 184-196). Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume XI (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2003).

especially on the chronology of Augustine's sermon²⁰ (see below § II). Furthermore, the collective volume on "Preaching in the Patristic Era" (2018), edited by Wendy MAYER, quotes my publications on the sermons 49 times, recommending the two volumes of bibliography as "a firm foundation from which to start."²¹

A particularly important illustration of the reception of the bilingual edition of Augustine's sermons and their supporting studies is their use by the *Augustinus-Lexikon* which is widely considered to represent the current state of Augustinian research.²² Volume 2 (1996-2002) recommends the bibliography on Augustine's sermons [no. 7] five times,²³ quotes the translation of Augustine's *Sermons on a bishop's ministry* which was later integrated in the comprehensive bilingual edition²⁴, and refers to the article on "The *Passio* of Saint Vincent of Saragossa" which was prepared for the bilingual edition of *Sermon* 4.²⁵ Volume 3 (2004-2010) quotes the bibliography four times,²⁶ also the article on *Sermo Moguntinus* 27 on the dispute between the apostles Peter and Paul according to *Gal* 2,11-14 (1994) [no. 10] which was a seminal stepping stone for the development of a new chronology of all of Augustine's sermons.²⁷ It twice quotes my article on "Christmas in Hippo"²⁸ that

²⁰ Cf. Anthony DUPONT, *Gratia in Augustine's Sermones ad Populum during the Pelagian Controversy: Do Different Contexts Furnish Different Insights?*, Brill's Series in Church History and Religious Culture volume 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), esp. pp. 654, 663 f.

²¹ Cf. Wendy MAYER, 'Preaching and Listening in Latin?: Start Here', in Anthony DUPONT *et al.* (eds), *Preaching in the Patristic Era. Sermons, Preachers and Audiences in the Latin West* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 11-27, esp. p. 24.

²² *Augustinus-Lexikon*, edited by Cornelius MAYER *et al.*, 4 volumes and volume 5/1-2 (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 1986-2019).

²³ Pp. XXVIII-XXIX, LIII.

²⁴ Col. 892. Cf. Hubertus R. DROBNER, "Für euch bin ich Bischof". *Die Predigten Augustins über das Bischofsamt* (Sermones 335/K, 339, 340, 340/A, 383 und 396). *Einleitung und Übersetzung*, Augustinus - heute volume 7 (Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1993); ID., *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu Kirch- und Bischofsweihe* (Sermones 336-340/A). *Einleitung, revidierter Mauriner-Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume IX (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2003).

²⁵ Col. 1300 notes 47-48. Cf. Hubertus R. DROBNER, 'Die *Passio* des hl. Vinzenz von Saragossa nach den Festpredigten Augustins (sermones 4, 274-277 A, 359 B)', in *Tempus implendi promissa. Homenaje al Prof. Dr. Domingo Ramos-Lissón. Bajo la dirección de E. Reinhardt*, Colección Historia de la Iglesia volume 33 (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2000), pp. 133-166; ID., *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zum Buch Genesis* (Sermones 1-5). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume VII (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 91-161.

²⁶ Pp. XXIX-XXX, col. 921.

²⁷ Col. 329 note 53.

²⁸

supported the bilingual volume on the Christmas sermons,²⁹ and the latter is then quoted again regarding the theology of Christ's birth from a virgin.³⁰

As the edition grew its impact on the *Augustinus-Lexikon* became increasingly noticeable. Volume 4 of the *Lexikon* (2012–2018) quotes my publications on Augustine 178 times in total in the course of 1322 columns. This large number is above all due to the fact that the volume quotes every single sermon in my bilingual edition, including the critical edition of *Sermons* 350B-C with introduction and commentary,³¹ as the state of the art, and as current points of reference.³² Furthermore, the entry “*Natiuitas Christi (natalis domini)*” largely relies on the results of my bilingual edition and the accompanying research articles.³³ Other entries once again quote the volume on the *Sermons on a bishop's ministry*, the bilingual edition of the *Sermons on New Year's Day and Epiphany*, and the articles on Easter Eucharist and on Psalm 21.³⁴

The first part of the entry “*Sermones (ad populum)*” in volume 5, fascicles 1/2 (2019–2020) refers to my publications 17 times, including the bibliography [no. 7]³⁵ and a reference to the introductions of all the volumes of the bilingual edition.³⁶ Furthermore it quotes the edition of the *Sermons on New Year's Day and Epiphany* regarding Augustine's rhetoric and the authenticity of *Sermon* 201.³⁷ Moreover, the

²⁹ Coll. 468, 629. Cf. Hubertus R. DROBNER, ‘Christmas in Hippo: Mystical Celebration and Catechesis’, *Augustinian Studies*, 35 (2004), pp. 55-72; ID., *Predigten zum Weihnachtsfest*.

³⁰ Coll. 1174 note 18.

³¹ Hubertus R. DROBNER, ‘*Sermo sancti Augustini De eleemosyna* (Haffner 1 und Étaix 3 = 350 B-C). Kritische Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar’, *Augustinianum*, 52 (2012), pp. 257-297.

³² Pp. XXIV, XXXI-XXXIV.

³³ Martin KLÖCKENER, ‘*Natiuitas Christi (natalis domini)*’, *Augustinus-Lexikon*, 4 (2012-2018), coll. 151-159. Cf. DROBNER, *Predigten zum Weihnachtsfest*; ID., ‘The Chronology of St. Augustine's *Sermones ad populum* III: On Christmas Day’, *Augustinian Studies*, 35 (2004), pp. 43-53; ID., ‘Weihnachten, Neujahr und Epiphanie in Hippo (Nordafrika): Diskussionsbeiträge zu Festgehalt und -umständen (*Sermones* 184-204A, 369-370, 373-375)’ in *Ministerium Sermonis*. Philological, Historical, and Theological Studies on Augustine's *Sermones ad populum*. Collected and Edited by Gert PARTOENS, Anthony DUPONT, Mathijs LAMBERIGTS, *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* volume 53 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 221-242; ID., *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu Neujahr und Epiphanie* (*Sermones* 196/A-204/A). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, *Patrologia* volume XXII (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2010).

³⁴ Coll. 23 note 40, 985, 1092 note 15, 1302 note 65. Cf. DROBNER, ‘Für euch bin ich Bischof’; ID., *Predigten zu Neujahr und Epiphanie*, p. 237 note 57; ID., ‘Die österliche Eucharistie bei Augustinus’, in *Surrexit Dominus vere. Die Gegenwart des Auferstandenen in seiner Kirche*. Festschrift für Erzbischof Dr. Johannes Joachim Degenhardt, im Auftrag der Theologischen Fakultät Paderborn hrsg. von Josef ERNST und Stephan LEIMGRUBER, Paderborn 1995, pp. 159-171, esp. pp. 169-171; ID., ‘Psalm 21 in Augustine's *Sermones ad populum*. Catecheses on *Christus totus* and rules of interpretation’, *Augustinian Studies*, 37 (2006), pp. 145-169.

³⁵ Coll. 247 note 9 (twice), 285 notes 286 and 295, 288 note 312, 289 note 315.

³⁶ P. 316 note 414.

³⁷ Coll. 254 note 56, 292 note 341.

three articles on chronology in Augustinian studies³⁸ and the article on the transmission of the sermons [no. 15] are also cited³⁹ as well as those on Psalm 21⁴⁰ and on *Sermon* 13:7 “Stretch Yourself on the Rack of Your Heart” [no. 18].⁴¹ In particular, in this dictionary article “*Sermones (ad populum)*” François DOLBEAU accepts and builds on my critical discussion of the sermons’ chronology (see below § II).

In conclusion, the scholarly reception of my publications on Augustine’s *Sermones ad populum* has been favourable and wide ranging. They have, as this summary shows, widely influenced the analysis and discussion of Augustinian studies in general, as well as scholarly analyses of these texts ever since.

³⁸ P. 316 note 414. Cf. Hubertus R. DROBNER, ‘The Chronology of St. Augustine’s *Sermones ad populum*’, *Augustinian Studies*, 31 (2000), pp. 211-218; ID., ‘The Chronology of St. Augustine’s *Sermones ad populum* II: Sermons 5 to 8’, *Augustinian Studies*, 34 (2003), pp. 49-66; ID., ‘The Chronology of St. Augustine’s *Sermones ad populum* III: On Christmas Day’, *Augustinian Studies*, 35 (2004), pp. 43-53.

³⁹ Coll. 270 notes 179 and 182, col. 295 note 348.

⁴⁰ Col. 258 note 100. Cf. DROBNER, ‘Psalm 21’, pp. 145-169.

⁴¹ Col. 255 note 71.

II. Chronology

The uncertainties surrounding the chronology of Augustine's sermons provided the primary motive to prepare their bilingual edition (cf. Introduction). Accordingly, analysis of chronology plays an especially important role in the introductions to each and every sermon both in the bilingual edition and in its supporting studies. One may rightly say that this element has had the greatest influence on changing the whole perception of the development of Augustine's life, work and thought.

The origins of the problem date back to the 1930s. In 1931, Donatien DE BRUYNE noticed in the "*Indiculus*", a list of Augustine's works that his friend and biographer Possidius of Calama had added to his friend's biography, namely a series of sermons in liturgical order from Ascension Day (no. 101) to the feast of Saint Quadratus (22nd August) (nos. X⁶ 101-131).⁴² He concluded from this observation: "If there is a link, it can only be chronological, that is they were preached in that sequence."⁴³ DE BRUYNE further pointed out that between *Sermon* no. 101 on Ascension Day and no. 106 on Pentecost four sermons intervened, the last one a sermon on the feast of Saints Castus and Emilius (22nd May). Consequently, in the corresponding year, Ascension Day must have been celebrated in the corresponding year at least four days before 22nd May, Pentecost after that date. Finally, DE BRUYNE noted that the titles of *Sermons* no. 101, 102, 108, and 131 demonstrate that they were preached in Carthage. Logically, if all sermons form a chronological series, all parts of the series must have been pronounced there. Nevertheless, DE BRUYNE did not venture to determine a precise date.

In 1935, Cyrille LAMBOT followed up on DE BRUYNE's arguments and eventually came to the conclusion that only the year 397 complied with all criteria mentioned, when Ascension Day fell on 14th May, and Pentecost on 24th day of that month.⁴⁴ This result was universally accepted and was passed on unquestioned until 1993.

⁴² Cf. André WILMART, '*Operum S. Augustini elenchus a Possidio eiusdem discipulo Calamensi episcopo digestus, post Maurinorum labores novis curis editus critico apparatu numeris tabellis instructus*', in *Miscellanea Agostiniana* volume II: *Studi Agostiniani* (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1931), pp. 149-233, esp. pp. 200-202.

⁴³ Cf. Donatien DE BRUYNE, 'La chronologie de quelques sermons de saint Augustin', *Revue Bénédictine*, 43 (1931), pp. 185-193, esp. p. 187.

⁴⁴ Cf. Cyrille LAMBOT, 'Un « ieunium quinquagesimae » en Afrique au IV^e siècle et date de quelques sermons de S. Augustin', *Revue Bénédictine*, 47 (1935), pp. 114-124.

The turning point came – though no-one realized it at the time – with François DOLBEAU’s discovery of twenty-six new authentic Augustinian sermons in the Municipal Library in Mainz, in 1990, which included precisely that series of sermons from Possidius’ *Indiculus*. On the basis of the universal acceptance of DE BRUYNE’s and LAMBOT’s theory, DOLBEAU saw no reason to doubt their determination of place and date and started to publish the new sermons under the title “Unedited sermons of Saint Augustine, preached in the year 397.”⁴⁵ DOLBEAU did notice a certain discrepancy between date and content when editing the first of this new series (*Moguntinus* 21 = Possidius, *Indiculus* X⁶ 108). For while it was supposed to be an early sermon in Augustine’s preaching career, nevertheless, it contained “abundant parallels” to many of Augustine’s later treatises. However, despite this discrepancy, DOLBEAU saw no reason to question DE BRUYNE’s and LAMBOT’s dating, and assessed this sermon to be “one of the less original ones.”⁴⁶

When I read this evaluation, I doubted it immediately. I considered it to be illogical that an early sermon could already contain “abundant parallels” to themes which were so “dear” (i. e.: fundamental) to Augustine that he developed all of them throughout his later works and thinking. On the contrary, I was convinced that the chronological sequence could only have been the other way round, and this sermon must have been late in the sequence, especially as most of the parallels quoted by DOLBEAU dated from works published by Augustine between 412 and 418.⁴⁷ Consequently, I proposed that Cyrille LAMBOT’S dating might be erroneous and concluded that sermon *Moguntinus* 21 was indeed “one of the less original” pieces, because it postdates the other works that contain so “abundant” a number of parallels and suggested instead a date of composition around the year 418.

In the translation and commentary of the second sermon published by François DOLBEAU (*Moguntinus* 27) I continued my argumentation by pointing out that the two indications which DOLBEAU drew from this sermon to support the date of 397 were not conclusive, but merely hypothetical, because “relationships of a text to outer datable events only support a date if this has been established previously and independently.”⁴⁸

⁴⁵ François DOLBEAU, ‘Sermons inédits de saint Augustin prêchés en 397 [1^{ère} série]’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 101 (1991), pp. 240-256.

⁴⁶ DOLBEAU, ‘Sermons inédits [1^{ère} série]’, p. 244.

⁴⁷ Cf. DROBNER, ‘*Sermo in vigilia pentecostes*’, pp. 446-454.

⁴⁸ Cf. Hubertus R. DROBNER, ‘Augustins *sermo Moguntinus* über Gal 2,11-14. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen’, *Theologie und Glaube*, 84 (1994), pp. 226-242, esp. p. 227.

While François DOLBEAU continued to publish the new sermons under the heading “Sermons inédits de saint Augustin prêchés en 397”,⁴⁹ he did take my arguments into account and eventually conceded: “Following Donatien de Bruyne and Cyrille Lambot I thought that the series was homogenous ... An attentive reading of all the sermons proved that the reality is less simple. ... In the meantime I am convinced that its archetype ... was organized according to the liturgical calendar on the basis of several preaching seasons.” He continues: “For a long time I was too optimistic with respect to the homogeneity of the series”; and he alerts his readers: “With regard to sermon Mainz 21, it is now indispensable to take into account the translation and commentary by H. R. Drobner.”⁵⁰ At the same time, DOLBEAU maintained the idea that small units inside larger series might, nevertheless, represent a chronological connection – an opinion which remains a hypothesis.⁵¹

However, at this time, I had already concluded that commenting on the new sermons one by one would not produce a step change in Augustinian scholarship offered by this abundant new evidence. In my opinion, only a comprehensive analysis of the sermons would be capable to achieve reliable progress, which discovered and made full use of the rich treasures contained in them, namely their translation and commentary. Thus, in 1996, I began to prepare my bilingual edition of Augustine’s *Sermons to the People*, and continued there to discuss and develop a new Augustinian chronology for hitherto 129 sermons. It is this element of my work which has exerted a significant impact on all subsequent scholarly discussion and has precipitated the formation of a completely new understanding of both subject and methods.

First results were clear by 1996. Martine DULAËY wrote in the published version of a talk she had given to the International Colloquium on “Augustine the Preacher” in Chantilly, in 1996, that she had originally dated *Sermo 341auctus* precisely to 12th December 409 on the basis of a thematic comparison. However, in the printed version

⁴⁹ [3^{ème} série], *Revue Bénédictine*, 102 (1992), pp. 267-297; [4^{ème} série], *Revue Bénédictine*, 103 (1993), pp. 307-338; [5^{ème} série], *Revue Bénédictine*, 104 (1994), pp. 34-76

⁵⁰ François DOLBEAU, *Augustin d’Hippone, Vingt-six sermons au peuple d’Afrique. Retrouvés à Mayence, édités et commentés*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 147 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1996), pp. 6, 617 f.

⁵¹ Cf. e.g. François DOLBEAU, ‘Sermones (ad populum)’, *Augustinus-Lexikon*, 5/1-2 (2019), p. 309.

she left the date undetermined because François DOLBEAU had warned her that the chronology of Augustine's sermons required a general revision.⁵²

Shortly afterwards, in 1999, I presented a paper to the Thirteenth International Conference of Patristic Studies in Oxford calling for a new approach to the chronology of all of Augustine's sermons.⁵³ On the basis of a series of examples and newly developed criteria I concluded that all dates suggested for Augustine's *Sermones ad populum* needed a complete and thorough revision, including the arguments used to support them. I pointed out that scholars might be surprised how little is really known about the chronology of Augustine's sermons on a reliable basis, and that a new, critical dating of Augustine's preaching would probably change many opinions about him and his thoughts which we hitherto took for granted (cf. p. 218). I am pleased to remember that my statement met with wide approval in the audience, among them by members of the 'Kirchenväterkommission' of the Academy in Vienna.

A year later Pierre-Marie HOMBERT discussed LAMBOT's thesis at length and strongly supported my criticism: "We fully share the doubts which Drobner formulated regarding Lambot's hypothesis." Furthermore, regarding the date of *Sermo Moguntinus* 27, he agreed: "One may estimate with Drobner that ... it is certainly after 397."⁵⁴

Thus far, the superseded theory had been abandoned, and the need for a completely new approach to the chronology had become clear. Questions remained as to the most appropriate methodology. Therefore, in 2003, I suggested new general criteria for the reliable determination of dates.⁵⁵ The only truly reliable basis could only be evidence provided by the text of the sermons themselves. This could consist of explicit references to verifiable outer facts like times of baptism, fasting, feast days, seasons, *etc.* It might also include references/quotations in between sermons or between sermons and other works, depending on the type and clarity of the reference. The more general the reference is, the less conclusive it is, and a mere reference to the title or general content of a sermon is usually deceptive. Finally, a large number of (allusions to) themes, which

⁵² Cf. Martine DULAEY, 'Sur quelques points d'exégèse figurée de l'Ancien Testament dans les sermons de Mayence', in Goulven MADEC, *Augustin prédicateur (395-411). Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly (5-7 septembre 1996)*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité volume 159 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1998), pp. 247-266, esp. 263 and note 100.

⁵³ DROBNER, 'Chronology', pp. 211-218.

⁵⁴ Cf. Pierre-Marie HOMBERT, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustiniennes*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité volume 163 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 2000), esp. pp. 205-211, 301 f. and note 4, 347.

⁵⁵ Cf. DROBNER, 'Chronology II', p. 66.

can also be found in major theological treatises could be used as an indication towards a *terminus post quem* of the sermon.

On the other hand, as a consequence of the clearly erroneous theory by DE BRUYNE and LAMBOT I rejected the idea that sermons which manuscripts transmitted as continuous series in sequence of the liturgical year indicate an historical and chronological connection. I called in question the hypothesis that early sermons could contain numerous allusions to themes which were later to be developed in major theological treatises. I also objected to popular arguments like the comparison of similar topics or style as indicators of similar time; the merely hypothetical surmise of a certain development of thought or style; psychological assumptions of the author's state of mind; and last, but not least, any *argumentum e silentio*. All of these often-used arguments seemed and seem to me to be pure speculations and thus completely invalid for establishing a reliable chronology. All these criteria met with virtually unanimous approval and have been applied by the scholarly community, thus basically shaping the new approach to dating Augustine's sermons to the present. A few examples of the reception of this approach will suffice to show its impact on the field.

François DOLBEAU wrote in his review of the two volumes of my bilingual edition published in 2003: "The equation 'similar topic means similar time' is hardly satisfactory", however, "thematic parallels used with circumspection and supported by further arguments may render excellent results ... Like Drobner, I reject the argument from style, but contrary to him, I have the same reservations in respect to theological arguments, which always rely on a modern reconstruction of an alleged development of Augustine's thought."⁵⁶ In fact, as I had pointed out in a prior article, we did agree on this point. I had regretted that the analyses of Augustine's inner evolution were rarely based on independently dated sources. Usually the reconstruction of Augustine's development of thought is based on mostly hypothetical conclusions. Consequently, I had argued, Augustine's personal and intellectual evolution could only be used as a reliable argument for dating, if its knowledge was based on securely dated works.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Cf. François DOLBEAU [review], 'Hubertus R. DROBNER, *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu Kirch- und Bischofsweihe* (Sermones 336-340/A). *Einleitung, revidierter Mauriner-Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume IX (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2003); ID., *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den Büchern Exodus, Könige und Job* (Sermones 6-12). *Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Patrologia volume X (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2003)', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 49 (2003), pp. 424-428, esp. 427.

⁵⁷ Cf. DROBNER, 'Chronology III', p. 47 note 14.

My criteria became so generally used that they were accepted as common knowledge. For instance, both Michael MARGONI-KÖGLER (2010) and Andrea BIZZOZERO (2016), professor at the “Studio Teologico S. Bernardino” in Verona who, since his doctoral dissertation in 2009, has specialized in the study of Augustine’s sermons, support my argument that from thematic parallels between sermons one cannot draw automatic conclusions as to their chronological connection.⁵⁸ Gert PARTOENS (2018), one of the co-editors of the critical editions of Augustine’s sermons in the *Corpus Christianorum*, and François DOLBEAU in his recent dictionary article (2020) clearly reject the *argumentum e silentio* as “methodologically unsound”.⁵⁹

The most satisfactory effect of the discussion which my work has initiated is the fact that scholars use my criteria as a reliable basis from which they venture to find new ways of ascertaining the chronology and apply them to Augustine’s writings in general.

Anthony DUPONT discusses my criteria for dating approvingly and, on that basis, suggests a combination of DOLBEAU’S, HOMBERT’S and my own positions: “Where *realia* are present, they should be used.” On the other hand, “F. Dolbeau has argued that thematic parallels have the potential to generate results in term of dating, but only if they are treated with the required caution and tested against other data.” On the one hand one should not be “over-hasty” in dating a specific sermon, on the other side one should “not be afraid” to use Biblical references and their exegesis, specific themes and theological topics, and “where possible, accept the probability of certain chronological indications.”⁶⁰

David G. HUNTER discusses the date of *Sermon* 354A (= Dolbeau 12) on the basis of François DOLBEAU’S, Pierre-Marie HOMBERT’S and Peter BROWN’S arguments.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Cf. MARGONI-KÖGLER, *Die Perikopen*, p. 205; Andrea BIZZOZERO, *Una catechesi sulla risurrezione dei morti. Analisi dei sermoni 361 e 362 di Agostino di Ippona*, Patrologia 32 (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2014), p. 19 note 14.

⁵⁹ Cf. Gert PARTOENS, ‘Augustine on Private *Correptio*. Content, Date, Manuscript Transmission and Critical Edition of *Sermo* 82’, *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 38 (2018), pp. 39-95, esp. p. 47; DOLBEAU, ‘Sermones (ad populum)’, p. 309.

⁶⁰ Cf. Anthony DUPONT, ‘A “Status Quaestionis” on Recent Debates on the Chronology and the Dating Methodology of Augustine’s *Sermones ad Populum*’, in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XVI*. Edited by Carl DEROUX, Collection Latomus volume 338 (Brussels: Peeters, 2012), pp. 646-659, esp. 656-659.

⁶¹ David G. HUNTER, ‘Augustine, *Sermon* 354A: Its Place in His Thought on Marriage and Sexuality’, *Augustinian Studies*, 33 (2002), pp. 39-60. Cf. François DOLBEAU, ‘Sermons inédits de saint Augustin prêchés en 397 [3^{ème} série]’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 102 (1992), pp. 267-297; HOMBERT, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 417-432; Peter BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo. A Biography. A New Edition with an Epilogue*, 2nd edn (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), p. 500.

HUNTER agrees to HOMBERT's conclusion that *Sermon* 354A and Augustine's tractate *De bono coniugali* are to be dated very closely together to the years 403-404 (p. 42). He sees this result confirmed by my new category that "when a sermon and a treatise share a large number of features, it is likely that the treatise was composed before the sermon" (p. 43).⁶² This analysis draws directly on the principles articulated in my publications.

From this point of departure HUNTER inquires whether there can fundamental differences in Augustine's theology of marriage be ascertained when he is dealing with it in treatises or in sermons. Eventually, he asks: "Can it be said that any particular event provoked the responses that we find in *Sermon* 354A and his other writings from this period?", and points to Augustine's contemporary treatise *De opere monachorum*: "Although *De opere monachorum* dealt only with the specific matters of manual labour and long hair, it is possible that the recent establishment of monasteries at Carthage may have led to a broader debate among Christians in North Africa over the relative value of the monastic and the married lives. One can easily imagine, as well, that certain Christians, both men and women, might have been tempted to abandon their marital and familial responsibilities in order to take up the new and 'superior' way of life. This would help to explain why Augustine emphasized so strongly in *Sermon* 354A and elsewhere that Christian spouses should continue to respect their conjugal bonds" (p. 59). Thus, HUNTER applies my criterion that only firmly proven connections and developments of thought may be used as a basis for the establishment of a sound chronology.

Jonathan YATES achieves a similar opening of new horizons commenting upon the date of *Sermon* 180.⁶³ He begins with dismissing Adalbero Wilhelm KUNZELMANN's dating of *Sermon* 180 to the years 414/15 on the basis of the argument 'similar topic means similar time' because of my firm rejection of it (pp. 83 f.).⁶⁴ Neither does YATES accept the arguments proffered by Jean-Paul BOUHOT who surmises that Augustine

⁶² Cf. DROBNER, 'Chronology', p. 217.

⁶³ Jonathan YATES, 'Is the Tongue Tamable? James 3:8 and the Date of Augustine's *Sermo* 180': *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 63 (2017), pp. 81-98.

⁶⁴ Cf. Adalbero Wilhelm KUNZELMANN, 'Die Chronologie der Sermones des hl. Augustinus', in *Miscellanea Agostiniana volume II: Studi Agostiniani* (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1931), pp. 417-520, esp. p. 505 f.; DROBNER, 'The Chronology II', p. 66.

preached *Sermon* 180 in 395 or 396, and Shari BOODTS who considers *Sermon* 180 as completely undated (p. 85).⁶⁵

YATES' results are remarkable. He imbeds *Sermon* 180 into Augustine's 'speech ethics' and compares the quotation James 3:8 in *Sermon* 180:12 with its general use in Augustine's works while acknowledging that "the methodological principle as expressed by Drobner, 'The Chronology ...', *Augustinian Studies*, 31/2, 2000: 212 and 215 is clearly relevant here" (p. 87, note 31).

While Augustine asserts in *Sermon* 180:12 that "you will tame your tongue if you keep awake", he argues in his treatise *De natura et gratia* 16 (a. 415) against Pelagius: "But I certainly do not think that the words of the apostle James, 'No human beings can tame their tongues,' should be interpreted as [Pelagius] wanted to explain them ... Saint James did not make that statement in the sense that it was easier than taming animals, *nor did he want it to be interpreted in that sense*. Rather, he wanted to show that the human tongue is so great an evil that it cannot be tamed by any human being" (pp. 89 f.). It is plainly inconceivable that Augustine could have reversed this exegesis as long as the Pelagian raged – which was not resolved to the end of his life in 430. Consequently, according to YATES, *Sermon* 180 can reliably be dated before 415.

Both HUNTER's and YATES' methodological development from the rejection of simply comparing topics and concluding that "similar topics mean similar time", to establishing logically compelling thematic developments, marks a considerable progress using the framework established by my new guidelines which show how important it is to consider Augustine's sermons in their comprehensive context, for instance, through exhaustive commentaries of the texts.

Finally, Marcela ANDOKOVÁ and Róbert HORKA use my new criteria in order to date Augustine's *Tractates on John* and *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, because they consider my arguments as "right and relevant."⁶⁶ This transposition clearly shows the relevance and impact of the new chronological method for the entire works of Saint Augustine.

⁶⁵ Jean-Paul BOUHOT, 'Les lectionnaires latins', in Christian-Bernard AMPHOUX et Jean-Paul BOUHOT (eds), *La lecture liturgique des Épîtres Catholiques dans l'Église ancienne* (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 1996), pp. 239-281, esp. pp. 274 f.; Shari BOODTS, 'Augustine's *sermo* 180 on Iac. 5, 12: *Ante omnia nolite iurare*. A new critical edition with introduction', *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 37 (2013), pp. 1-50, esp. pp. 1-3.

⁶⁶ Cf. Marcela ANDOKOVÁ and Róbert HORKA, 'The Chronology of Augustine's *Tractatus in Iohannis evangelium* 1-16 and *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 119-133 Revisited', *Vox patrum*, 72 (2019), pp. 149-170, esp. p. 151.

The most recent stage of the reception of my new approach to the chronology of Augustine's sermons is marked by François DOLBEAU's article "Sermones (ad populum)" in the last instalment of the *Augustinus-Lexikon* which was published earlier this year.⁶⁷ On the one hand, he still thinks that "the scepticism that DROBNER displays throughout on this subject is excessive" while admitting that this is "caused by the errors of the past."⁶⁸ On the other hand, he readily adopts and builds on my "radical critique" as representing the current state of Augustinian research.⁶⁹ He accepts – while expressly referring to my studies – only reliably dated facts that are mentioned in the sermons as the only valid criterion for establishing a chronology. All other arguments he considers to be "more or less fragile". The argument from style which intends to distinguish early and late sermons appears to DOLBEAU to be purely subjective. The argument from presumed series of sermons in Possidius' *Indiculus* and in manuscripts he now assesses as ambiguous (cf. below § III). While short sequences might represent an original chronological connection, longer ones could well be the result of medieval compilers motivated by liturgical interests.⁷⁰ According to DOLBEAU parallel biblical quotations do not necessarily indicate chronological proximity of texts, because Augustine was used to memorize and re-read his own texts. This thought acknowledges my criterion that "similar thought or use of biblical quotations is not a reliable basis for a chronology" rejecting Pierre-Marie HOMBERT's general method to deduce dates from "clusters" of biblical quotations.⁷¹ Furthermore, François DOLBEAU follows my idea that dates based on modern analyses of the Augustine's intellectual development are usually problematic.⁷² Nevertheless, DOLBEAU concedes, "if used with prudence, they may help to establish a *terminus ante* or *post quem*."

Thus, my ideas of a completely new re-consideration of the chronology of Augustine's sermons and its methods, including my suggestions for new criteria, have generated a decades-long interchange within the scholarly community, and have become part of the generally accepted current state of research. Through the recapitulation of the worldwide research on Augustine's sermons, and given the

⁶⁷ DOLBEAU, 'Sermones (ad populum)', coll. 244-320.

⁶⁸ *Ib.*, col. 248 note 22.

⁶⁹ Cf. DOLBEAU, 'Sermones', pp. 308 f.

⁷⁰ Cf. DROBNER, 'Chronology II', pp. 53 f.

⁷¹ Cf. DROBNER, 'Chronology III', pp. 48-50.

character of the *Augustinus-Lexikon* in defining the standards in Augustinian studies, DOLBEAU's article on Augustine's sermons can be expected to "set the tone" for a long time to come. This includes, I am happy to say, among the studies of many other scholars, also my contributions to the field.

⁷² Cf. *ib.*, pp. 46 f.

III. Textual transmission

A further major impact exerted by my bilingual edition and supporting publications exerted on the shape of Augustinian scholarship are their new perspectives on evaluating forms and modes of textual transmission of Augustine's sermons. These publications have fundamentally changed the perception of reasons for and methods of the history of the transmission of the texts, as well as the conclusions drawn from that aspect of scholarship. This includes a new general concept of the role that preaching played in Augustine's life, questions of the selection of sermons transmitted, the reliability of transmission, authenticity and integrity of texts, and the trustworthiness of their titles.⁷³

For the longest time Augustine's *Sermons to the People* had been considered to have played only a minor role in his life, thought and work. His *Confessions*, the *City of God*, even his short early philosophical treatises and, of course, his multiple writings against the great heresies of his times, Arians, Donatists, Manichees, and Pelagians were deemed to be much more momentous at the time and influential in the longer term than the sermons.

In contrast, I have pointed out that the corpus of Augustine's *Sermons to the People* may form the largest part of all of his writings. Internal evidence in the sermons, Possidius' catalogue of Augustine's works (*Indiculus*), and further external sources attest that a large number of his sermons were either never written down or have been lost in transmission.⁷⁴ How large this number is, cannot be ascertained with any certainty. Pierre-Patrick VERBRAKEN calculated a total number of 8,000 sermons that Augustine preached during the almost forty years between his ordination to the priesthood in January/February 391 and his demise on 24 August 430, an estimate which he deduced from the general knowledge of Augustine's movements and

⁷³ Cf. Shari BOODTS, 'Navigating the Vast Tradition of St. Augustine's Sermons: Old Instruments and New Approaches', *Augustiniana*, 69 (2019), pp. 83-115, esp. pp. 91-101.

⁷⁴ Cf. DROBNER, 'Transmission', pp. 97-99; DOLBEAU, 'Sermones', p. 285 note 295.

activities.⁷⁵ Be this as it may, there is little doubt that preaching played a much larger and much more important role in Augustine's life than was hitherto acknowledged. He was an orator by education and profession, chosen as a priest precisely because of his oratorical skills, and preaching seems to have occupied a very large, if not the largest part of his pastoral activities.

Nevertheless, Augustine's sermons were often marginalized by scholars, and many have argued as though the certainly incomplete number of sermons which are preserved represented the whole of his preaching.⁷⁶ This erroneous perception has been corrected in the past twenty years under the impact of the new assessment on Augustine's sermons as also the increasing number of publication may indicate. All the bibliography before 2000 contains a total of some 260 editions and translations, and about 700 studies.⁷⁷ However, the bibliography from 2000 to 2019 counts some 140 editions and translations, and about 620 studies in mere twenty years.⁷⁸ Of course, this increase in numbers may also be attributable to the increased numbers of students and the mounting pressure on scholars to publish. Nevertheless, there also seems to take place a qualitative change in interest as François DOLBEAU states in his most recent article in the *Augustinus-Lexikon*: "For the longest time, the sermons have been analysed by liturgists, but exegetes, theologians and historians considered them as secondary sources ... this situation is in the process of being changed."⁷⁹

The new perception that only a very limited proportion of Augustine's sermons has been preserved, has also led to a new perspective on the selection of sermons that have been transmitted, and on the reliability of their transmission to modern times.

The discovery of the new sermons in Mainz raised two questions: Firstly, why were those twenty-six sermons only preserved in a single manuscript of the 15th century, and secondly, why had eight of them been copied before, but only in fragmentary forms? Peter BROWN explained this phenomenon by reasoning that those sermons, which were so valuable for modern scholars because they contained a vivid picture of Augustine's life and times, were of little to no interest to the medieval copyists. They were just

⁷⁵ Cf. Pierre-Patrick VERBRAKEN, 'Saint Augustine's Sermons: Why and how to read them today', *Augustinian Heritage*, 33 (1987), pp. 105-166, esp. p. 106.

⁷⁶ Cf. DROBNER, 'Transmission', pp. 97-99.

⁷⁷ Cf. DROBNER, *Bibliographie*.

⁷⁸ Cf. DROBNER, *Bibliographie – Supplement* 2000-2010; private collection 2010-2019.

interested in supporting the theological interests of their own times from Augustine's writings. Sermons that "were too full of details from a world that medieval Christianity had left behind" were dismissed as useless.⁸⁰

My own work [no. 15] went even a step further by drawing general conclusions regarding Augustine's the entire oratorical corpus. Apparently, so far the mechanical reasons for the loss of texts, such as accidents, wars, suppression of monasteries, lack of funds for further copying *etc.*, had been overestimated. On the other hand, the active role of the medieval copyists had been underestimated as motive for the selection of works transmitted or lost. I concluded that possibly, if not very probably, many conclusions based on the assumption that mostly historical-mechanical circumstances shaped the transmission of Augustine's sermons, must be fundamentally revised"⁸¹ – a conclusion which also François DOLBEAU supported.⁸²

This conclusion also extends to the completeness of transmission which has been called in fundamental doubt by the discovery of the full version of *Sermon* 374.⁸³ Before 1990, ten sermons on the feast of Epiphany were known (199-204A, 373-375), all of them of about the same length (*ca.* 800-850 words) and dealing with the same topics, namely Christ's revelation to the magi as representatives of the Gentiles by means of the star, as a sign of the vocation and unification of both Jews and pagans in one Church, and Herod's slaughtering of the Holy Innocents.

In contrast, *Sermo* 374*auctus* comprises some 5,150 words and enlarges the themes to another manifestation of Christ which was also traditional in Eastern Epiphany sermons, namely Christ's first public manifestation through his first miracle at the wedding feast at Cana.⁸⁴ Apparently, "since late antiquity certain of Augustine's

⁷⁹ Cf. DOLBEAU, 'Sermones (ad populum)', col. 255.

⁸⁰ Peter BROWN, 'Augustine the Bishop in the Light of New Documents', *Patristica. Supplementary volume* 1, (2001), pp. 131-152, esp. p. 134.

⁸¹ Cf. DROBNER, 'Transmission', p. 103; Hubertus R. DROBNER, 'Augustiniana Coloniensia. Zwei neu identifizierte Augustinuspredigten in Codex Köln Dom 70: *Enarratio in Psalmum* 70/2,6-9 und *Sermo* 135,6-8', in Heinz FINGER and Harald HORST (eds), *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek. Fünftes Symposium der Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln zu den Dom-Manuskripten (30. November bis 1. Dezember 2012)*, *Libelli Rhenani* 51 (Köln: Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 2014), pp. 69-101, esp. pp. 69-74.

⁸² Cf. François DOLBEAU, 'Le sermon 374 de saint Augustin sur l'Épiphanie. Édition du texte original', in Roger GRAYSON, *Philologia Sacra. Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. FREDE und Walter THIELE*, *Vetus Latina* volume 24/2 (Freiburg/Br.: Herder, 1993), pp. 523-559, esp. p. 525.

⁸³ See note 82.

⁸⁴ Cf. Hansjörg AUF DER MAUR, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit I. Herrenfest in Woche und Jahr*, *Gottesdienst der Kirche. Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft* volume 5/1 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1983), pp. 157 f.; DROBNER, *Predigten zu Neujahr und Epiphanie*, pp. 50 f.

sermons ... were abbreviated in order to use them more comfortably in the liturgy ... without the original context ... and without most of the references to the actual situation in Africa.”⁸⁵

Nevertheless, the consequences reach even further. The *Sermon on New Year's Day* (198*auctus*) had also been cut into three small excerpts of *ca.* 1,600, 730 and 600 words, and all Christmas sermons (184-196A, 369-370) also comprise some 700-800 words. I have argued that “then their equal length may have nothing to do with the shortness of winter days [as concluded from *Sermon* 196A:3], but have been caused by a later ‘circumcision’ of the texts. If that was so, and the abbreviation of Augustinian festal sermons was proved to be a widespread phenomenon in their transmission, it would fundamentally change our perception of Augustine’s preaching. Then, only that selection of themes would have been transmitted, which suited the taste of a later public, without reflecting a true image of his overall preaching and theology. Eventually, one would need to doubt the completeness of all festal sermons ... which comprise only a certain number of words. ... It could revolutionize our perception of Augustine as preacher.”⁸⁶ This phenomenon complements the earlier conclusion regarding the overall fragmentary transmission of Augustine’s oratory corpus. Not only have numerous sermons been lost completely, one needs to be aware that an unknown number of sermons that seem to be complete nevertheless may be fragments. This calls for a general change in the perception how much we really know about Augustine’s life and thought. François DOLBEAU supported this conclusion and built on it for his further research.⁸⁷

A third fundamental conviction regarding the transmission of Augustine’s sermons turned out to be highly questionable and in need of thorough revision. Many of his sermons have been transmitted in collections,⁸⁸ and, for the longest time, it was assumed that these collections preserved some historical connection between the items listed therein, for instance, a chronological link (see above § II). This was argued especially if they contained internal references to previous or following sermons which

⁸⁵ DOLBEAU, ‘Le sermon 374’, p. 526.

⁸⁶ DROBNER, *Predigten zu Neujahr und Epiphanie*, p. 49 f.

⁸⁷ Cf. François DOLBEAU, ‘Longueur et transmission des sermons d’Augustin au peuple. Un examen des sermons pour l’épiphanie et *de sanctis*’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 127 (2017), pp. 5-27, esp. p. 9.

⁸⁸ Cf. Pierre-Patrick VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, Instrumenta Patristica volume 12 (Steenbrugge: Abbatia S. Petri, 1976), pp. 197-234; DROBNER, *Predigten zu den Psalmen I*, pp. 77-85.

seemingly perfectly matched their sequence in the collection, or were ordered in the sequence of the liturgical calendar, or had corresponding titles.

For instance, the collection *De paenitentia* transmits *Sermons* 24, 279, Morin 1 and 288 as a continuous series. In *Sermon* 279:3, Augustine reminds his listeners that on the Sunday before he had preached on Psalm 82. From this reference Cyrille LAMBOT concludes: “This was the topic of *Sermon* 24.”⁸⁹ LAMBOT concedes that this reference alone is not conclusive, because “without any doubt Augustine might have preached about this responsorial verse several times”. However, because of the additional observation that those two sermons follow one another in the collection *De paenitentia* “where certain sections follow a chronological order we are certain that this sermon dates from 16th June 401.”⁹⁰

However, given the fact that probably only a small part of the sermons which Augustine actually preached have been transmitted, and the realization that medieval copyist and redactors intervened much more than was previously thought, these references are only in very few cases really compelling. Otherwise, one needs to take into account that those sequences observed in later medieval manuscripts could as well have been artificially composed by later scribes or scribal patrons for their own use, for instance, in the liturgy of their times. Consequently, “whatever conclusion is reached on that basis cannot be sure to stand on final and reliably firm ground.”⁹¹ Jérémy DELMULLE endorsed these suggestions,⁹² and François DOLBEAU accepted them as being of standard value: “The argument from presumed series of sermons in Possidius’ *Indiculus* and in manuscripts is ambiguous”, and liturgical or communal use as motive for copying texts “justify suspicions [of authenticity]” and integrity.⁹³

In conclusion, the twelve volumes of the bilingual edition of Augustine’s sermons that have been published to date and the accompanying studies have exerted decisive

⁸⁹ Cf. Cyrille LAMBOT (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones de Vetere Testamento, id est sermones I-L secundum ordinem vulgatum insertis etiam novem sermonibus post Maurinos repertis*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina volume 41 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1961), p. 324.

⁹⁰ Cf. *ib.*

⁹¹ Cf. DROBNER, ‘Transmission’, p. 115; ID., *Predigten zu den Psalmen II*, p. 880-882.

⁹² Cf. Jérémy DELMULLE [review], Hubertus R. DROBNER, ‘The Transmission of Augustine’s Sermons. A Critical Assessment’, in Anthony DUPONT, Gert PARTOENS, Mathijs LAMBERIGTS (eds), *Tractatio Scripturarum. Philological, Exegetical, Rhetorical and Theological Studies on Augustine’s Sermons*, Ministerium Sermonis, volume II, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 65 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), *Revue d’Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 60 (2014), p. 444.

⁹³ Cf. DOLBEAU, ‘Sermones (ad populum)’, coll. 292, 294, 309.

influence on the development of Augustinian scholarship in several respects. First of all, introductions, translations and commentaries contributed to the comprehensive understanding and interpretation of the sermons. Then, fundamentally new perspectives on the evaluation of the history of transmission were provided by showing that the personal influence of medieval copyists probably had much more influence on the selection of sermons that have been transmitted than had been supposed. Consequently, it was pointed out that the present state of transmission needs to be viewed with much more caution as to the extent and quality of evidence the sermons provide for establishing Augustine's true and complete thought. This includes the critical reconstitution of the texts. Finally and perhaps most importantly, the radically new approach to the methods of ascertaining the chronology of the sermons did not only open new horizons for the understanding of Augustine's catecheses, but had wide-reaching consequences for the evaluation of his whole life, publications and thought. All these qualities of the publications submitted were, as was shown, widely accepted and positively appraised by the international scholarly community.

Postscript:

Future tasks

The ongoing project of editing and commenting Augustine's sermons in order to achieve a better understanding of his person, life, thought and times can be expected to make further substantial contributions to various aspects of Augustinian studies.

Since 2008, four volumes of a critical edition of Augustine's *Sermons to the People* have been published (*Sermons* 51-104 and 151-183).⁹⁴ All of these volumes have taken into account the results of my editions of, and studies on, Augustine's sermons. It is to be expected that also the future volumes of our editions will take each others' results into consideration and thus jointly achieve substantial progress in the reconstitution and comprehensive understanding of the texts.

Furthermore, there is a series of fundamental questions raised by Augustine's sermons which have been topics of considerable debate for decades, and which exert major influence on the general knowledge and evaluation of Augustine's life, pastoral activities, liturgy, and theology. These questions include the method and content of the preparation of the candidates for baptism (*competentes*) as evidenced by the Lenten sermons (*Sermons* 205-217), especially the dates of their reception and recital ("return") of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. On the basis of Augustine's *Sermons during Easter Octave* (*Sermons* 229E-260E) Suzanne POQUE has proposed a highly controversial reconstruction of the liturgies and the development of Augustine's theology during Easter Octave.⁹⁵ Augustine's *Sermons on Ascension Day* (261-265F) raise fundamental questions regarding the reliability of their textual transmission in order to ascertain Augustine's true and complete theology of the feast. Eventually, the question has not been resolved yet whether Augustine's *Sermons on Pentecost* (266-272C) attest to the fact that also Pentecost vigil was used for baptism. By dealing with these problems, the future volumes of the bilingual editions of Augustine's sermons, commentaries and supporting studies can contribute to an overall wider and more precise picture of his life and thought.

⁹⁴ Cf. BOODTS, 'Navigating', pp. 87-89.

⁹⁵ Cf. Suzanne POQUE, *Augustin d'Hippone, Sermons pour la Pâque. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, Sources Chrétiennes volume 116 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966); cf. DROBNER, 'Transmission', p. 114.

Finally, a comprehensive study on the chronology of all of Augustine's *Sermons to the People* which is in preparation, will not only lay a new and reliable foundation for the incorporation of Augustine's sermons into the whole corpus of his works and thought. It will also support the necessary thorough revision of Othmar PERLER's book on Augustine's travels.⁹⁶ His reconstruction of Augustine's life and movements also affects the reconstruction of the development of Augustine's thought and reactions, especially in regard to the major controversies with Manichees, Donatists, Pelagians, and Arians. Nevertheless, as PERLER bases his conclusions to a large extent on Augustine's sermons, their new chronology will necessarily considerably change many of his results.

In conclusion, the work on the new perception of Augustine's sermons will further contribute to the ongoing comprehensive reconsideration and re-evaluation of his person, his life, activities and thought.

⁹⁶ Othmar PERLER en collaboration avec Jean-Louis MAIER, *Les voyages de saint Augustin* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1969) ; cf. DROBNER, 'Transmission', pp. 111-114.

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Hubertus Rudolf Drobner
Academic curriculum vitae

Degrees

September 2014	Doctor of Divinity, University of Oxford
July 2008	<i>Master of Arts in English Local History</i> , University of Leicester
June 2008	<i>Master of Science in Educational Studies (Higher Education)</i> , University of Oxford
March 2006	<i>Undergraduate Advanced Diploma in Local History</i> , University of Oxford
November 1995	<i>Doctor in Christian Archaeology</i> , Pontifical Institute for Christian Archaeology, Rome
June 1993	<i>Licentiate in Christian Archaeology</i> , Pontifical Institute for Christian Archaeology, Rome
May 1984	<i>Doctor in theologia et scientiis patristicis</i> , Patristic Institute “Augustinianum”, Pontifical Lateran University, Rome
June 1982	<i>Diploma in theologia et scientiis patristicis</i> , Patristic Institute “Augustinianum”, Pontifical Lateran University, Rome (by coursework)
November 1980	<i>Doctor of Philosophy</i> (Classics), University of Mainz
January 1980	<i>Diplom-Theologe</i> , University of Mainz

Academic positions

October 2016-present	Member of the Pontifical Commission for Christian Archaeology, Rome
November 2014	Honorary Professor, Australian Catholic University, Sydney- Melbourne-Brisbane
1992-present	Guest professor at the Patristic Institute “Augustinianum”, Pontifical Lateran University, Rome

1990-1992	Rector of the Theologische Fakultät Paderborn, delegate of the German Schools of Catholic Theology to the German University Rectors' Conference and member of the Senate of selfsame
1989-present	Guest professor at the Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona, Spain
1986-present	Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Patristics, Theologische Fakultät Paderborn, Paderborn, Germany

Hubertus Rudolf Drobner

Full list of publications

Abbreviations according to: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Abkürzungsverzeichnis. 2. überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage*, zusammengestellt von Siegfried M. SCHWERTNER (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994).

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